8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

skilled man who is idle and slack ("weak at working" in Tongan idiom). A rather less complimentary shade of meaning may be conveyed by this phrase, namely, it is the way of the unskilled (or foolish, the same word is used in both senses) to go ahead with all their might at a job although they may be all wrong.

125. Veuveuki ke lelei: Upsetting for good.

Veuveuki means to introduce confusion, to wrest things from their right order, to change instructions that have been given about a piece of work. This phrase indicates one who refuses to obey orders, makes a change in the instructions given, or otherwise disarrays a job, but does it in the knowledge that the prescribed method of procedure is not a good one. Such a man introduces confusion into the task, but it is a confusion that turns out well.

MANUFACTURES

CLOTH

[Cloth is made by ingeniously pasting together lengths of the beaten-out bark of the paper mulberry *(hiapo, Broussonetia papyrifera)*, on which a design is stained and picked out with black coloring matter.]

126. Hafuhafu koka: Dripping *koka*.

The *koka (Bischoffia* or *trifoliata javanica)* furnished a red dye for staining the native cloth. This dye is obtained by mixing the grated wood of the tree with water and squeezing through a mat. The imagery of the expression is taken from the drops of liquid falling down from the strainer, though when the mat has just been freshly filled the liquid runs down in a full stream. This expression, however, evidently refers to mere drops, more particularly perhaps the hard won drops when the mixture has been strained almost dry. It is applied to eking out a thing, trying to make it go round.

127. Hange ha fakatau kupeji: Like buying a printing-frame.

The printing-frames for the native cloth are highly valued, and when it comes to buying one there is apt to be a good deal of haggling. So this expression is applied to a transaction marked by confusion and cross purposes.

128. Hange ha fau tau koka: Like a strainer for expressing *koka*.

A coloring matter for staining the native cloth is obtained from the *koka* tree *(Bischoffia javanica)*. To obtain this pigment small pieces of bark are scraped from the tree, mixed with water, and then strained through a mat. This mat, which is long and narrow, is wrapped round the ground bark, and assumes the shape of a huge sausage. The ends are then tied

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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no opportunity therefore, to obtain any close or intimate knowledge of any non-Tongan domestic economy, domestic morals, domestic manners, or domestic relations. What slight knowledge there may be on these topics among the village women is derived almost entirely from Convent schooling or gossip. From this viewpoint our own stay in the village might possibly have added something to the culture of the more observant or curious of the village women.

Economic Life

CONTROL OF LAND

All land in Tonga is ultimately owned and controlled by the Crown. Functionally it is divided into three groups: Government estates, the estates of nobles, and the Royal estates (including those of the Queen and Crown Prince). Of the thirty-nine estates into which Vava'u is divided, seventeen are Government, sixteen are noble, five are Royal and one is the estate of the Crown Prince. Again in theory, each adult Tongan male above the age of sixteen years is entitled to an allotment of 8¼ acres of land from the Government estate for which he pays taxes at the rate of eight shillings per year. Land is not sold to anyone. Applications for the leasing of land are made to the Minister of Lands. Land from the Royal estate or from that of a noble may be acquired by lease and may be inherited in either the male or female line provided the rent of eight shillings per year continues to be paid.

Pangaimotu (the island of Pangai) is Royal estate. Within the limits of Pangai village, the residential sections are nearly all controlled by named households. The bush lands on the islands are divided into sections called *api uta*, more briefly *api* (see Fig. 1), which range in size from eight or nine to sixteen or twenty acres. Each of these bush *api* is leased for the usual rental of eight shillings. As long as the rental is paid, the lessee has full control of his *api* and full right to produce what he pleases thereon. Should the rent, however, be in arrears for three years in succession, the land may be allotted to another individual.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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FISHING

The villagers in Pangai do not have either easy or quick access to good fishing-grounds other than the nearby reefs. This is the reason why fishing does not bulk so largely in the work-activities of the men as it does in those of other villages. A few of the men most interested fish fairly consistently, selling their surplus fish to other households of the village. The majority of the men however, think fishing too onerous a job. They buy fish or canned meat when they have the ready money. For the rest of the time they subsist on a meatless diet. These men are of course still well aware of the various fishing-techniques. Some of these fishing-methods are mentioned in this section in order to show something of the ways in which the villager is able to use working-party methods to gain a desired end, to show also the survival of a few magical beliefs in this type of activity.

Shark-fishing is still the most organized of all fishing-methods. Typically, six or more men go in a cutter to the place called Matahina, off the coast of Vava'u proper, recognized as the best shark-fishing bed. Twenty dry coconut-husks have been fastened on a long wire. At Matahina the expert fisherman in charge *(toutai)* drops these husks into the water and jangles them together as he intones an ancient incantation calling on Hina to send sharks. If sharks approach but then disappear again, he uses another incantation to allay their coyness. If no sharks appear after repeated calls, the attempt is made again in other parts of the fishing-beds. When sharks appear round the cutter, a noose is slipped into the water, salt meat is spread in front of the noose and the effort made to draw the noose tight over the shark as it darts after the bait. A successful expedition will often catch many sharks by this method. Should the expedition be unsuccessful, the expert fisherman knows that someone back in the village has disturbed or interfered with his *falesiu* or "shark-house." This is a closed container—an empty kerosene tin, a box, a marine shell, or even a house—which the expert has designated as the "shark-house" for the expedition. This designation has rendered the container *tapu*. It has either been hidden if small, or ostensibly

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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231 554 527 special kin, church-thanksgivings, and the like. It is well to be prepared for these possible functions with pigs on hand. Otherwise the pigs will have to be bought from whomsoever can be persuaded to sell. The price is likely to be high. Biukala, to take a typical case, has now five pigs, three sows and two boars. During 1938 he killed ten pigs: six for his [554] son's first birthday (he also purchased an additional large [565] pig for this feast, thus signalising with a memorable feast the prestige of his high status among the other commoner families of this village), two for Christmas celebrations, and two sucklings which he sold when temporarily short of ready [262] cash. No feast can claim to be a feast without the service of pork. Hence the premium on the keeping of pigs.

231 492 Most village households also own at least one horse. This is most useful for visiting distant villages, for riding (bareback) to and from the plantation, and more particularly for use as a pack animal in bringing back heavy loads of food and firewood to the village from the plantations.

231 [235] [262] [432] Many households possess a few chickens which are used as an occasional food relish and for feasts. The eggs, if any, may be sold for a pittance to the trading station, the manager of which takes them in turn to Neiafu where they are sold from the big stores to the European residents. Two families have several goats, useful for feast-occasions. The village overseer owns two cows and a bull. At rare intervals he sells a cow or a calf to a butcher in Neiafu. He slaughtered [272] one cow himself for the birthday-feast of his son. Neither [237] milk nor manure are used. The animals have mostly prestige value.

Pigs are nominally supposed to be kept inside enclosures in the village. They usually wander round the village, unhindered, unhampered, and occasionally venture into the bush where they often play havoc with the gardens. They are usually fed on mature coconuts, specially if fattening is necessary for a forthcoming feast. Otherwise they root up the free village lands hunting for roots and wallowing in the consequent mud baths during the rainy season. Goats, cows, and horses are kept tethered in the plantations where they find enough green foods to keep them in good condition. [857] Chickens are semi-wild, roosting in the trees and only to be

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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cooked at the picnic place, and large quantities of other food will be eaten.

The *kai tunu* corresponds to the basket of food that figures so prominently in the church-suppers and socials of the white man. In Pangai it is contributed by arrangement for such occasions as an evening devoted to singing sacred songs; for an occasional gift to the pastor of the church, for a carpenter called in to repair the church structure; for the singing and dancing-parties which meet to practise many nights in succession before some large church conference or before the visit of a member of the royal family to Vava'u. If for a group, the food is laid out and eaten after the more serious business of the evening is finished; if for an individual, the food is taken to the household and there eaten in company with household members. It is unlikely that there would be any pork in any of these food-contributions. Possibly a bit of fish or chicken would be included, but mostly the food would be prepared from the regular vegetable staples.

On almost all occasions when the villager joins with his fellows for work or play food is served and eaten together. It symbolizes good fellowship (as when a large group is invited to a birthday-feast), token-payment for services rendered (as with a working-party), validation of a socially important contract (as in a marriage-feast), or it serves as a method of marking the arrival or departure of individuals who make up the social group (birth- and death-feasts). On all of these and on other occasions still, when food is served to the group, the satisfaction of hunger is of course important. None who have watched the villager eat at one of these feasts can doubt either his hunger or his capacity for consuming the largest amounts of food. Beyond this, however, the symbolic significance of the feast is not to be overlooked. The villager is certainly well aware that the feast transforms mere eating into an expression of the social values of the group.

One further type of food-distribution may be mentioned in this context; that is, a combination of a feast and food-distribution for a specific money-raising purpose. This is the feast termed *aho no*—"borrowing day" (?). It is held on any occasion when the householder wishes to raise a

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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574 comparatively large sum of money for the purchase of a new
437 boat, a cart, or a house. Thus, Hausia wished to buy a large
432 Tongan-style house with an iron roof from its Pangai-born
262 owner who had left the village to live at Tongatapu. Hausia proposed to remove this house from its present site and
[435] erect it on his own house lot. The price of the house was fifteen pounds. Hausia had saved up five pounds. He wished to raise the rest of the purchase-price as soon as possible. He announced to the village that he would hold a food-distribution on a certain day. For this distribution he slaughtered all his pigs and one cow. He also prepared large quantities of food. On the day of the distribution, members of each Pangai household and visitors from all the nearby villages visited Hausia. They were given food to eat and a section of pork or beef to take home. In return each visitor
574 left with Hausia from two to four shillings as a gift towards
437 the price of the new house. At the end of the day, all Hausia's
432 food had been eaten, all his meat given away, but he had
431 acquired about twelve pounds in money. It may be noted that the villagers do not think of this transaction as a sale. They make a gift of money because money is needed. Hausia makes a return-gift of meat because it is a desirable food. By this gift-exchange, Hausia raises a substantial sum of money while villagers and visitors get plenty of food to eat and meat to take home.

Income and Expenditure

434 As will be evident from the following discussion, Pangai
511 operates today partly on a self-subsistence economy and partly on a money-economy. Food for the everyday diet is largely raised through gardening and does not involve the expenditure of money. Additional delicacies for a feast, however, generally necessitate recourse to the store. Money-
[432] economy is more importantly involved in the purchase of clothing, soap, kerosene, matches, and the like.

434 Perhaps the best way to show the manner in which this
51 money-economy is geared to the everyday life of the villager
592 is to present in some detail the income- and expenditure-accounts of two Pangai households.

Sesoni and his household (2 adults and 5 children) can very well be taken as representative of the average village

434 511 592 (651) [429] [794] [527] [432] [431] Some further notes may be added concerning Biukala's expenditure. His poll-tax payments include his own as well as those of a man from the island of Uvea who has taken up residence in his household and who assists in turn with gardening and copra making. The rents are for three *api* in Pangai and a fourth in Tongatapu. Church gifts include the quarterly offering of 6/-, together with a special missionary offering of £2 0s 0d and the gift to the church of a can of kerosene. Biukala, obviously, is a very strong functioning member of the church. For the first birthday of his only son to whom Biukala is greatly attached, the father made a large feast. Besides large quantities of Tongan food (including an additional pig which had to be purchased), Biukala bought from the store such foods as flour, sugar, fish, spices (his wife has learned to bake cakes), melons, canned milk. He also bought as a birthday-gift for his son a fathom of piece goods to make a *vala* for the infant. This birthday-feast in consequence, is remembered as one of the really big village functions of the year. The other store expenditures of these months include the usual soap, kerosene, flour, sugar, canned meat, canned fish, and piece-goods for *vala* as well as seeds for his garden. Biukala's mother lives on a town-lot in Nukualofa. Here money economy is much more important than in Pangai, and his substantial gift was doubtless of great value to the mother.

434 439 It is not possible to estimate with any accuracy the total income of Pangai village as a whole. Money is obtained principally from the sale of copra, bananas, and pineapples, and from services. Of these sources, copra sales are highest on the list, sale of bananas second, the sale of pineapples and services (stevedoring for one or two men, occasional work in a store), far below the others. Some few men in the village make a point of being vitally interested in banana exportation. Each of these men tries to prepare from eight to ten cases of bananas for export about five or six times each year. He receives from three to five shillings per case, depending on market price. About five other men in the village occasionally export one case of bananas each. Thus, under the most favourable conditions, each man in the first group may add perhaps £10 to his yearly income and each

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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262 tinned fish. It is apparently easier for the villager to buy a tin of beef from the store than to fish, even though the beef is the bull's toughest cut. But to buy the beef, you need
[432]
[434] money, and money you get by cutting copra to sell to the local store. Thus, the villager has tended to concentrate on his plantation and on his copra. From this point of view, the art
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226 of fishing is being so rapidly lost that the sea is becoming
823 about as interesting and as important to the villager as it is to the average large city-dweller in our own society.

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181 The villager does not bewail the loss of his techniques. He would become a mere sentimental antiquarian if he did, especially where new methods and novel appliances are more efficient than the clumsy and inefficient techniques of a past age. Where he might well feel, however, that the balance-sheet shows him in the red is in the arts of fishing and cooking and in the loss of the arts of leisure—the arts of dancing, singing, and playing. Here Christianity has taught
[177]
[795] him that play is mere idleness, dancing is sinful, and singing respectable, provided only that the music and words are concerned with sacred topics. As a result, the villager plays cricket and football in brief seasonal spurts and nothing at other times. He sings loudly in church, rarely at any other time. He leaves dancing to untutored children who dance in no tradition except that of their own making. All in all, change in these arts of leisure has given the villager time to spare. But for the *kava* circle and its saving sociability, he would tend to kill his time and then wonder why happiness so often eluded his searching.

THE HOUSEHOLD

592 The Pangai household consists of that group of individuals living together which uses the same cook-house for
[513] the preparation of common meals. Generally this group uses but one sleep-house. A further sleep-house may be necessary however, if the numbers of the household are large.
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602 The relationships of the persons making up the individual households (as determined by a census taken of all the
[125] households in the village) consist of twenty-six different groupings of kin. Omitting for the moment the biological groupings of parents and children, there are represented ten types of patrilineal relationship of household members to

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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574 four or more parties were held during the sixteen day period
342 were large; the one in which nine were held is the large
592 house of the village overseer—men drift in there to pick up
584 any late gossip, to discuss island affairs; Biukala's house is
571 large and cool with a spacious verandah where the party could continue even though the household-head retired to an inner room to sleep; in Hausia's house, the eldest daughter, besides being a skilled *kava*-maker, was an attraction to the village youth.

574 Most of the morning and afternoon parties were small
461 and were held at the houses of elderly men (three of them church-pastors, one the village overseer) not actively engaged in daily agricultural work. The evening parties were much larger and usually attended by the men who had been gardening and working during the day. *Kava*-parties are regularly held after Sunday mid-morning church and dinner. They are also customary in the afternoons when the men feel that the seasonal agricultural work is such that a morning's work only in the bush plantations is sufficient.
[276] Visitors to a household from another village are always offered *kava* as a gesture of welcome.

276 The roots used for making the *kava* may either be
432 bought in the village store or else obtained from the plantation. The *kava*-plant is slow growing. Not all men have
[249] the patience to plant, wait for maturity, then dry properly. Nor do all men have the money to spare for store-purchase.
276 Note was made of those contributing *kava*-root to the parties. Some twenty men contributed: nine men once each, five men twice each, five men from four to six times each, and one
276 man fifteen times. This last man is generally considered
594 to be the foremost *kava*-drinker in the village, something of
521 an addict in fact, whose consistent and frequent attendance at *kava*-parties is a matter for village gossip. The gossip
[895] is tempered slightly by the fact that the addict is a schoolteacher who can support his household to a large degree by his small monetary income and rely upon the services of his father to look after the household gardens.

574 Frequency of attendance at parties is shown by the next table.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

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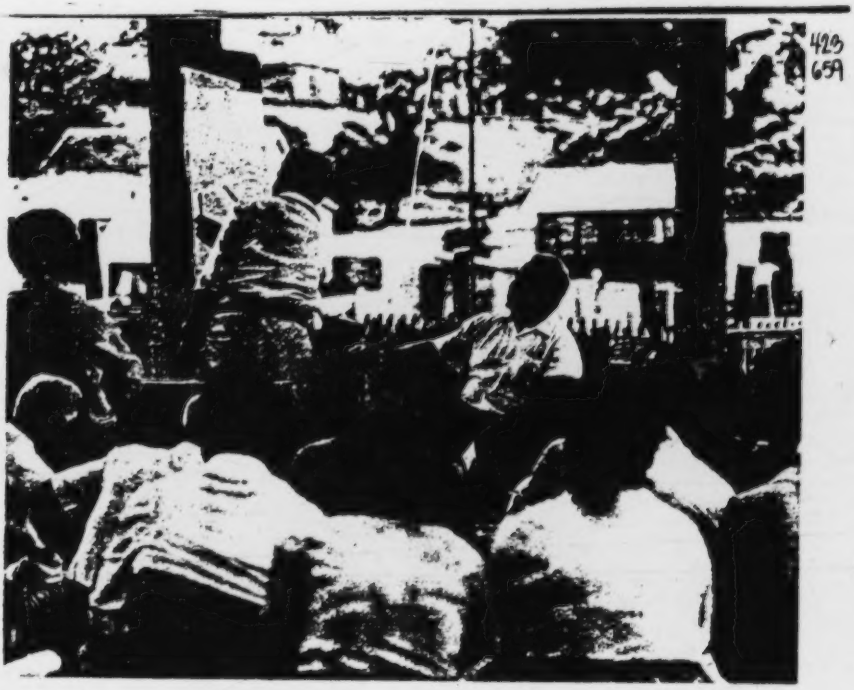
276 sleepy during the day. Instead of working in his garden,
[735] the addict spends his daylight hours asleep. Poverty and a
lack of food are characteristic of his household. Those who
[461] are recognized as the hardest workers in the village are
conspicuously those who rarely drink *kava* in the evenings
or who are content with two or three rounds only of *kava*
before going to sleep.

276 Domestic trouble arises because the drinker generally
593 deserts his household to drink elsewhere. This is illustrated
733 by the case of the heaviest drinker in the village. He drinks
kava several times daily. His own house is small and un-
suitable for *kava*-parties. It is also very close to the bush
[776] that encircles the village and close therefore to the numerous
and malevolent evil spirits *(tevolo)* that haunt the bush
after nightfall. This makes the house a dangerous place in
which to leave a wife and small children without adult male
protection. Hence the addict's wife is continually angry
because of this desertion. There have been frequent domestic
brawls and the wife has occasionally deserted her husband.
Moreover, this addict rarely works in his gardens. He leaves
[156] gardening to his aged father who is recognized as definitely
[181] "queer" by the villagers (the father shuns company, is
given to long solitary walks, talks softly to himself: the
very antithesis of the sociability-loving Tongan). Much of
[434] the money the addict obtains from his school-teaching he
[432] spends buying *kava*-root at the store. Thus the household
is poor in every respect.

276 This addict is an extreme case of *kava*-craving. Village
733 opinion does not of course consider the fact that he may have
become an addict because of certain personality difficulties
which have of themselves made his domestic life unsatis-
factory. This would be a somewhat sophisticated view for
the villager to try to comprehend. Hence he simply takes it
for granted that excessive *kava*-drinking is the cause of all
troubles. His conviction is perhaps rendered more certain
[293] by noticing the results when some of the more daring young
men have emptied a bottle of whisky into a full *kava* bowl
and then swallowed the resulting concoction. (There are
[671] very stringent, enforced laws against drinking the white
man's liquor or beer—only very occasionally could this
happen.)

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 0U9 Tonga 0U9



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All land in Tonga is ultimately the property of the Crown, and the sale of it is forbidden. However, the law states that every male, upon reaching the age of 16, is entitled to 2/5 acre of town land, plus 8⅓ acres of farm land in the bush—for which he is responsible and must pay an annual tax ($3.20). But with the fast-growing population, there is a shortage of land, so smaller-sized plots are being allocated. In the photo above, the Tongan Minister of Lands, Honorable Tuita (seated), is allotting land in 'Eua.

[482]
[651]

'I hono fakatotolo fakaikiiki, 'oku ma'u 'e he Kalauni 'a e kelekele kotoa 'i Tonga. 'Oku pehe 'e he lao 'oku totonu ke ma'u 'e he tangata Tonga kotoa kuo ta'u 16 ha konga 'api kolo fa'unga mo e vahenima 'e ua'o e 'eka, pea mo e 'api 'uta fa'unga mo e 'eka 'e 8⅓. Ko e tukuhau 'o e kelekele ni ko e $3.20. Ka 'oku fu'u si'isi'i e kelekele pea 'ikai lava ai ke tufa kakato. Ko e ta eni 'o Tuita *(i'a ia 'oku ma'a 'i he ao 'i lotomalie 'o e ta)* lolotonga 'a'ene tofi kelekele 'i 'Eua.

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nukuleka

KINSHIP AND BEHAVIOUR IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

of Tongatapu Island 16 miles from the capital, Nuku'alofa. This village was selected for field work because it is one of the most isolated villages in Tongatapu and because it is supposed to have retained the traditional way of Tongan life. The size of the village was also suitable for the study. Although I tried to speak the Tongan language as much as possible for my daily life, the information for the study was collected in English through an interpreter who was nineteen years old.

I The Village

The People

According to the Government census of 1956[5] the population of Nukuleka was 209 (107 males, 102 females). There were 219 (109 males, 110 females) by my enumeration in December 1962. In spite of the rapid population growth of the Kingdom in recent years, the increase of population of this village has been slight. Among these 219 persons, there are 15 temporary residents made up of two families whose heads serve as the stewards for the two different churches in this village. These 15 residents being excluded, 204 is the village population. Of these 37 were born outside the village (male 10, female 25 and children 2). Eight married men have come from elsewhere and two younger single men live at the home of relatives. The 25 women are married to the villagers. The two children were brought here on their mother's second marriage. Against the 37 who moved in, there are 36 who moved out of this village (male 13, female 23). This figure is the number of persons who are brothers and sisters of the present villagers and were born in Nukuleka but now live elsewhere. It is difficult to count the moved-out otherwise. Most of them, especially women, married out, and a few left the village because they received land in another place or because they were adopted by the relatives.

All the inhabitants are Tongan. There are 49 adult men over sixteen years of age who are old enough to be entitled to receive *api tukuhau*, tax allotment, and *api kolo*, town allotment, and at the same time are obliged to pay poll tax according to the Tongan law. The village had been the noble estate held by S. Pangia, but the Government took over direct control in the 1920s.[6] Simultaneously, the Government confiscated extra land from the men who had had larger *api tukuhau* and redistributed them to more villagers. Today, however, only 28 villagers have *api tukuhau* of about 8¼ acres each. A further 21 who are entitled to it have not yet received it. The latter borrow the land to cutivate from their relatives or friends. Therefore, all men, without exception, are working the land.

Besides agriculture, the villagers are engaged in fishing. The village location being favourable to fishing, a number of men go out to sea nearly every day. Most of the fish are consumed within the village, but a few

5. Report on the Result of the 1956 Census by Authority, 1958.
6. In the map after Gifford (1929) Nukuleka was a noble estate held by Pangia. A villager told me that the Government had examined the documents of the village in the law court and had taken it lawfully from him, although I could not find the record in the office.

men of enterprise who use a *pa* trap for catching fish sometimes sell their catch to the villagers or to the people of Mu'a, the ancient capital of the Kingdom lying 3 miles south of Nukuleka.

Eiki Tevita Leka

The high chief of Nukuleka is Tevita Leka, a *matapule* of the present Queen. His family have been sailors of the Tui Tonga for generations. There is a story about his ancestor. Long ago, a daughter of the Tui Tonga became pregnant, but did not disclose her lover's name. Getting angry, the Tui Tonga was going to kill her, when Haavea Leka, a *matapule* of Ha'afeva island in Haapai, came in and asked permission to take her with him to his own island. On departing, Haave asked the Tui Tonga as a special favour to name the baby Leka and make him *toutai*, a sailor, of the Tui Tonga, if the baby should be a boy. The Tui Tonga later called the boy Leka back to Hu'a and made him a chief sailor of the *kalia*, a double canoe, named Lomupeau.

The genealogical distance between this first Leka and the present one is not clear, although Tevita Leka can identify six generations before him. Many years ago, the Tui Tonga ordered Leka to reside in this village which was formerly called Nuku. The messenger from the Tui Tonga to Leka often lost his way, for there were a number of places named Nuku in Tonga. The name Nukuleka was then given to avoid the confusion.

Today Leka lives in the same way as an ordinary villager, working his own *api tukuhau* of 8¼ acres, and sleeping in a house thatched with plaited coconut leaves. But he is of the highest rank among the villagers and none is able to take a seat above him. Even in a church a chair is reserved for him beside the pulpit. As *matapule* of the Queen, he announces the order of the Queen to the villagers. He may ask the villagers to offer pigs, yams and *pola* (plaited coconut leaves used as a food tray) piled with food cooked in the earth oven, on special occasions like the birthday of the Queen or the two princes or on the feast to an honoured guest. Sometimes he visits the palace in the capital to serve the guest of the Queen. When the Queen visits other islands of the Kingdom, he may follow her as his ancestor did. But his most important duty as a *matapule* is to attend the *fai kava* given by the Queen which is usually held on her birthday in the palace or in the open space in front of the palace. The order of drinking *kava* is as follows; the Queen, Lauaki, Motua paka, Noble Nuku, Noble Luani and Tevita Leka.[7]

In the village life Leka has a special role in catching the *ika faka fonua*, literally 'the fish of the village". The *ika faka fonua* of Nukuleka is the *matai*, a hammer-headed shark, that comes near the coast from October to March. If the *matai* does not appear in this season, Leka goes to the graveyard to offer *kava* roots and to pray to his ancestor. This prayer will be heard without fail. Anyone who sees a *matai* out to sea calls *"Matai, Matai!"* when all the villagers gather on the beach, and men both young and old sail out with sticks and paddles in their hands. As soon as Leka hears the call of *matai* he hurries to his home. While they

7. This seat-ordering which Leka indicated is not different from the *kava* ring cited by Collocott. Collocott 1927: 28.

592 take care of (tauhi) them (the old couple)".

511 597 Besides expenditures for everyday material needs, a household must have the cash for periodic outlays to pay

592 511 434 members' expenses such as income taxes, the annual poll tax on every male over the age of fifteen, church contributions, and schooling expenses for the children, as well as to buy store-bought goods such as clothing and

[454] fabric, households utensils, and other implements. Such purchases and expenditures generally require relatively large cash outlays that are seldom provided for through systematic savings. Instead, members of the household make a special effort to assemble the money shortly

[655] before it is needed. Men collect coconuts to make copra,

[432] or else sell the undried coconuts directly to the Tonga

[462] Copra Board, while women prepare handicrafts for sale

[245] to tourists (especially the tourists who flood in on the periodic one-day stopovers of cruise ships that visit

[215] Tonga). There is noticably more copra-making activity and also a particularly well-stocked handicrafts bazaar in the weeks preceding a new school term, when money is needed for books, uniforms, and school fees. Usually, people try to make more money than is needed for the major outlay at hand. What is left is doled out to provide cash for everyday needs until another major effort is made.

592 511 476 621 Finally, a household must have the means for its

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

592 of some transactions. These details have been witheld to
423 preserve the anonymity of the people involved. However, in his excellent paper on Tongan land tenure, Maude (1971) discusses some of the practices associated with the sharing of land, including various forms of payment, and considers the implications of these practices.

Through arrangements such as the sharing of land, the subsistence requirements of the household are provided for in cases where no member of the household has control over an allotment that can be farmed while living in Motulahi. Indeed, one might almost say that there must be some such arrangement if the household is to be viable.

592 At least during the period that I was there, nobody in
432 Motulahi regularly bought the locally-produced staple vegetables that are available for purchase in Nuku'alofa. It would be far too expensive for most people to do so.

[554] And besides that, it is regarded as humiliating for a Tongan to have to buy vegetable produce, for it signifies that no-one holds them in sufficient regard to supply them with food or to provide them with access to the means

592 of obtaining it for themselves. If the household as a
511 whole does not have some means of access to the use of an agricultural allotment or if for some other reason members of the household are not able to farm (reasons such as age, infirmity, or being too occupied by other activities,

47: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1975 0U9 Tonga 0U9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

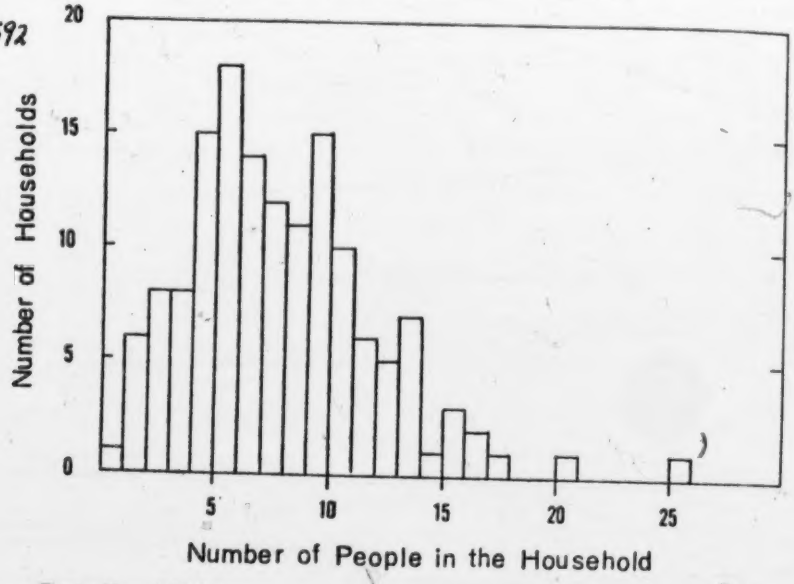

Fig. 1. Household size.

family group is visiting merely for a short time, having come to be present at a birth, for instance. Yet such a visit could stretch into months and eventually even into years.[5]

Individuals and whole family groups may shift their place of residence, not only from village to village, but sometimes from household to household within the village. Despite this fluidity, a Tongan household is an easily definable group at any one time, with a fairly constant range of activities having to do with the production and consumption of food and the sharing of a common kitchen.[6] Visitors are easily assimilated into the household—room is found for them to lay down the mattresses they bring with them, and they take up the domestic chores and activities appropriate to their sex and age. Most visitors bring a few baskets of food with them when they first come, and their relatives send occasional baskets from home if they stay on for a while.

5 There is no correlation between the length of a visit and the distinction between "attached individuals" and "family units."

6 These elements in the definition of what constitutes a household group come into play in cases where more than one household occupies the same residential plot or where one household has members living in structures spread out over more than one plot.

47: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

even though only one allotment can be registered in any one person's name.[12]

People in the village of Motulahi claim control over a total of 166 allotments. This figure is not meaningful in relation to the question of providing for the daily material needs of Motulahi households, however, because it includes 52 allotments on other islands which are registered in the names of people living in the village but which are inaccessible for subsistence purposes (see Table 7). More to the point, therefore,

TABLE 7

Allotments to Which Access is Controlled by People in Motulahi

Location of Allotments	Number of Allotments	Motulahi Households in Which There Is Someone with Control over an Allotment	
		Number of Households	Percentage of All Motulahi Households (N = 145)
Throughout Tonga	166	114	79
On Tongatapu	114	90	62
In Motulahi	93	80	55

there are 114 allotments on the island of Tongatapu that are controlled by people from 62% of the households in the village. In other words, 55 households (38%) have no allotments that can be farmed while living in Motulahi; 31 households (21%) have no allotment anywhere.

Even if no member of the household has control over an allotment that can be farmed while living in Motulahi, someone who has an accessible allotment may permit members of the landless household to have access to his land to grow short-term food crops and to pick coconuts, thereby providing for the subsistence needs of the household.[13] In fact, one might almost say that there must be such an arrangement if the household is to be viable. Nobody in the village regularly buys the locally produced staple vegetables which are

12 Beaglehole and Beaglehole (1941:18) gives an account of the circumstances under which one man came to have control over four allotments.

13 In his study of land tenure and social organization in a village on Tonagatapu, Nayacakalou makes the following observations relating to the sharing of land:

> Of the 27 households which have no *'api* of their own in the village [out of a total of 106 households], 4 have *'api* in another village, 4 others are using *'api* the owners of which are away, and the remaining 19 share the use of the *'api* of others (1959:105).

When land is short and a number of families have to go without, they can usually make do by

47: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
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Motulahi

available for purchase in the main town. In the first place, it would be far too expensive for most people to do so. And besides that, it is regarded as demeaning for a Tongan to have to buy vegetable produce, for it signifies that no one holds them in sufficient regard to supply them with food or to provide them with access to the means of obtaining it for themselves. If the members of a household do not have some means of access to the use of an agricultural allotment, or if for other reasons they are not able to farm (because of, for example, age, infirmity, or being too occupied with other activities, such as a job), they must either be supplied by relatives or have some other arrangement (short of buying their food in town). There were only two households in Motulahi with varying and uncertain arrangements for providing for the everyday material needs of household members, and, it should be noted, the adult members of these households were held in contempt by many of the villagers.

DETERMINANTS OF HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

When a family group does not have access to an allotment or to the subsistence foods that are the products of an allotment, it will inevitably join a family unit that does have such access, forming a multiple-family household. In 1970, there were 49 multiple-family households in Motulahi, or one-third of the households in the village. Most of the family units that comprised these households would not be economically viable as independent households. In some cases, a member of one of the family units provided the household with a steady cash income from a job. That person might not have access in his/her own right to an agricultural allotment, but someone in another family unit in the household did have such access. Together, they provided the economic basis for a viable household. In other cases, one family unit in the household may have control over an allotment, while the other family unit supplied the labor to work it. This was especially true in some of the three-generation households, where the land was registered in the name of someone in the senior generation, and the next generation provided the labor to work it. It may also be the basis of other types of household—for example, where a widow has control over her late husband's allotment but has no adult male in her family group who

sharing the use of the *'api* of others or by using the *'api* of those who are away from the village. . . . Of the 19 households that share the use of the *'api* of others in the village under study, 10 share with related households and 9 share with unrelated ones. Of the 9 that share with unrelated households, 5 have no relatives in the village (1959:109).

Maude (1972:119-120) also discusses practices relating to the sharing of land. For a systematic account of which persons are likely to provide this form of assistance, see Decktor Korn (1974:10)

574 Christmas, New Years, the Sabbath, and the several national holiday of
(529) Tonga such as the King's birthday. Feasting is also important at funer-
574 als, farewells, and welcomings. Each feast may be viewed as small-scale
571 redistribution where many individulas may be asked to contribute food and are also asked to attend. For the feast-giver there is the prestige and reward of obligating others to him. The social units participating in the preparation of a feast vary from the members of one household to an entire village. In Puke one of the basic reasons for village division is to facilitate the preparation of feasts for village guests, particularly churchmen. Each of the divisions takes its turn in rotation.

The Modes of Transaction

128 In this section I will describe the types of transactions used in the flow of goods and services and try to establish the relative importance of each. Possibly the most outstanding feature of this aspect of
432 178 the Tongan economy is the integration of modern market modes of transactions with the traditional forms of reciprocity. Buying and selling
432 178 443 558 626 is still a relatively new idea in Tonga and there is some social stigma attached to persons who engage in such activities. Persons selling food are frequently the topic of gossip as Tongans wonder why the seller is not giving the food. A common ploy used by vendors of foodstuff is to use children as the salesmen; this tactic helps prevent gossip and removes the vendor from a situation in which he might be asked to reduce his price for kinsmen and friends or even freely give the merchandise.

437 431 443 Persons providing services and vendors of crafts and food frequently try to keep their transactions on a gift-exchange basis so that the transaction is understood to be two persons giving each other gifts rather than one principal paying the other. The "seller" benefits in two ways from this type of transaction: he at least partially avoids being identified as a "business-boy" and he often materially benefits because the return gift is above what could be asked as a price. In this type of transaction the measurement function of money is disregarded, unless the return gift is considered too small. Handicrafts are often [439] sold by this method, befuddling tourists who wish to equate a unit of money with a certain amount of merchandise.

437 432 Transactions involving money are fakatau transactions. 'To sell' is fakatau atu, atu meaning 'away' or 'from'; 'to buy' is fakatau mai, mai meaning 'toward'. 'To pay' is totongi and as a noun means 'price'; mahu'inga also means 'price'.

431 Anything given (foaki) without explicit expectation of a return is a gift (me'a'ofa) which literally translated means 'thing of love'. At times gifts are legitimately solicited by request (kole) but built into such a request is the implicit understanding that the solicitor must be ready to meet a future request of the person from whom he has solicited. [554] There is more prestige in giving than in receiving and one who is al- [558] ways asking for gifts without returning the favor suffers loss of prestige, but he does not usually lose his right to keep making requests. This mode of transaction is by far the most frequent non-monetary type and is a form of what Sahlins calls "generalized reciprocity" (1965: 147).

80: Maude K-5 (1961) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9

and in 1852 he told a meeting of the leading chiefs that 'No person has any title to lands in these Islands except by grant from the Government' (Amos 1852). This claim was strengthened and brought into conformity with traditional Tongan feeling in 1865 when the remaining powers of the Tui Tonga were conferred on Tupou by the chiefs. The sale of land to foreigners was forbidden in 1850, although leasing was permitted under government control. By 1872, if not earlier, this prohibition was extended to cover sales of land to Tongans.

Other developments in land tenure resulted from a combination of missionary influences (particularly from the Reverend Shirley Baker, a Wesleyan missionary who later became Premier), the King's own desire to elevate Tonga into the ranks of the civilized nations, and the need for government revenue. The 1862 code, which freed the commoners from forced labour and compulsory contributions to their chiefs, also stated '. . . the chiefs shall allot portions of land to the people as they may need, which shall be their farm, and as long as the people pay their tribute, and their rent to the chief, it shall not be lawful for any chief to dispossess them . . .' (West 1865:434). Baker later claimed credit for this provision, explaining that his aim had been to ensure that those required to pay taxes had the means to earn the necessary money (Rutherford 1966:54-5). This may be the origin of the later principle that each taxpayer was entitled to an allotment, although under the traditional system the holding of land was probably also linked with the payment of tribute.

The Constitution of 1875 elaborated and refined these principles, and also provided for the granting of estates to the chiefs. Since 1852 all land had legally belonged to the King, and unoccupied land had come under the control of the Crown rather than the chief of the district in which it lay. Between 1875 and 1882, however, Tupou appointed a number of chiefs and *matapule* as virtual landlords of the districts, in most cases those they had traditionally controlled, and gave them the power to lease land to their people and, with the approval of Cabinet, to foreigners, with the rents being paid to the holder of the estate. The Constitution appears to have been the work of Baker. Rutherford (1966:155) suggests that 'The creation of a nobility was probably a move by Baker to enlist the support of the more powerful chiefs . . .', and there is little doubt that political stability was improved by giving both the King's main supporters and the more important of his opponents secure and comfortable positions in the new order.

423 or death of the previous holder's widow, the allotment
428 descends, in order to his male descendents; his unmarried daughters; his brothers or their lineal descendents; his father's brothers; or their lineal descendents.

If a legal heir already holds an allotment, the allotment descends upon the next most appropriate heir. In the case of sons and grandsons of the holder, they have the option of selecting between the allotment they hold or the one available for inheritance. Allotments can also be surrended by the rightful heir by reason of old age or illness. [429] In cases where the legal heir has not reached the age of sixteen, the Minister of Land can appoint a trustee (s) until he comes of age. If no person claims the allotment, it reverts to the estate holder or the Crown. The Minister of Land may reallocate reverted allotments.

Although fragmentation is discouraged, a person may apply to the Minister to subdivide an allotment between sons, grandsons, brothers, or nephews if the original allotment is of sufficient size. 423 An alien can reside on an 641 estate or an allotment only by permission of the Minister.

423 Leasehold Land

427 The Land Act strictly prohibits sale of land and mortgaging of land or crops. However, there is a provision [432] for the leasing of land and for another form of temporary [428] tenure, the "permit". Leasehold rights can be inherited

/56 cont./

291 177 178 Thus the field of clothing shows how old indigenous cultural assets and new imported ones exist side by side and in part have been blended to a unity that seems natural to the natives. The Tongans adopted the European fabrics because they are far more practical (washable and more durable) than tapa, because, with their printed patterns and the brilliant colors some of which they had never seen before, they seem desirable, and because they are products of Europe which they admire. Convenience was a lesser consideration, for the money for purchase of the fabrics must be earned, keeping them clean requires assiduous care, and the tapa continues to be laboriously made--for festivities, as sleeping mats, etc.--to such an extent that in most villages of Tonga, and even in the "chief city" of Nuku'alofa one can still hear the pounding of the tapa mallet almost every workday.

(296) (432) (287)

/57/ It is doubtful whether in future the vala will be replaced altogether by trousers and the short dress. Though for certain work, trousers are much more practical than the vala, yet the latter is easier to make, to put on and to clean, and above all more comfortable in the warm climate. To judge by the present state of affairs, the majority of Tongans will probably retain the vala. Certainly it will continue to exist in the exalted realm of solemn occasions and festivities--provided the Tongan government does not officially introduce a different development in the wake of special European-ization measures.

Adornment

301 178 The adornment of the Tongans has also undergone a change. Today the natives adorn themselves relatively little compared to the wealth of adornment mentioned in the old sources about Tonga. In the pre-European and early European era there were necklaces of snail shells,

(237) (824)

/94 cont./

621 of their common life in the villages. In some respects the village
[189] community seems to be one large family. True, every household has
[592] its own separate dwelling in the village. But the household is by
621 no means isolated in the community. For example, if a villager of the
425 small islands needs any sort of object, be it a particular mat of a chicken or even a pig or a horse, he will ask a fellow-villager for it and will receive it without a direct service in return. This is the old system of "reciprocal insurance," for tomorrow the giver may be a
[576] suppliant. It is a rule of courtesy to grant the suppliant his wish, just as it is an unwritten law never to take unfair advantage of this
421 mutual aid. The concept of property and right of ownership is far
425 less developed than in Europe. Perhaps the chief's power of disposal
[565] over the property of commoners in ancient Tonga is one reason for this;
[178] another reason may be the common production (that is, with the coopera-
[476] tion of several villagers) of essential things such as houses, boats,
[177] tapa and mats. It is at any rate interesting that European influences
[936] were never capable of eradicating this ancient custom of natural material assistance, through the introduction of money. On the small
621 islands very few natives sell their products to their fellow-villagers,
432 and they are not exactly highly respected for doing so. On Tongatapu
554 and Vava'u the influx of money is, of course, greater, especially in
177 the seaports of Nuku'alofa and Neiafu. But even in these small cities
436 every inhabitant can at least go to every other for a meal if he does
632 not happen to have prepared one for himself.
[571]

186 In these towns, as on the small islands, the feeling of solidarity
621 unites the natives even beyond the divisive influence of the denomina-
795 tions. It often happens, for example, that Protestants and members of
794 other churches give money for the collections of the Catholic congregations and vice versa.

476 /95/ Even "reciprocal insurance" also applies to work assistance,

/122 cont./

423 565 certain restriction on the properties of chiefs and above all on their power; every commoner feels free, and no one is anxious about his land, since the chiefs can no longer arbitrarily exert their power over the people. Nevertheless, since the Crown has ultimate right [182] to all land and gives out part of it to the nopele as feudal tenure [425] and to commoners as leased property, the basis of the old system seems [427] to have been upheld. Present-day land distribution can insure a 423 permanent settlement of the land and bodes well for the Tongans, to 425 remain by and large a farming people, even though the system, which is good in theory, shows certain weaknesses in practice. With the [432] legal prohibition to sell land, the present method of land distribution [671] also gives the natives an invaluable protection against the land-aquiring interests of Europeans.

c)Administration of Justice.

69 A very considerable change took place in Tonga in the field of 178 justice administration.

In ancient Tonga there was no government regulated jurisdiction. Judges, police, and prisons were unknown. A few offenses against [784] taboo rules were not punished by the hand of man, for people believed in punishment by supernatural forces. The various "cases" which came 692 up as a result of other offenses of Tongan customs and habits 565 (especially in the existing noble-commoner relationship) were taken 681 care of by the chiefs as they saw fit. In general, punishment was 681 meted out as soon as possible after the deed. The chief punishments were: beating (for example, with the palm of the hand on the naked back, with the fist on the head and face), tying (arms and legs for days), and execution (for example, striking with a club or drowning in the sea with a leaking boat). Influential chiefs seem at times [565] to have acted as arbiters. (337) [692]

/153 cont./

241 way he has to walk from the village, he can no longer devote himself
178 to it as intensely as in the 18th century; secondly, many natives
461 seem to have lost their joy in the work of cultivation. This is the
[197] outcome of European influences, as a result of which much hand work has apparently become crude or has been lost altogether. The "liberation" of commoners from the domination of chiefs, as well as the realization that one is no longer completely dependent on cultivation, since flour, meat, sugar, etc. can be bought from the storekeeper on all the islands, may likewise have determined the present attitude toward plantation work.

241 The majority of Tongans consume their cultivated products by
[262] themselves, within their own families. At a request, or even on their
[431] own initiative, they will sometimes give of their yield--especially if there has been a good harvest--to other villagers (not only kinfolk),
241 as in old times. On the small islands they do not, as a rule, sell
438 their produce to fellow-villagers, and in the villages of the larger
184 islands, only occasionally. In the larger towns of Nuku'alofa, Neiafu
432 and Pangai, however, some Tongans sell their tubers, etc. to their countrymen who have no plantings or only small ones (for example, government and business officials); some natives on the larger islands have even started planned cultivation for such purposes (for
241 example, "yam farms"). The handing-over of produce to chiefs, which
565 in ancient Tonga was taken for granted, has been given up almost
178 entirely and has been superseded by the annual payment for the lease
427 of land; a native but only seldom on special occasions, will a
651 native bring the chief of his district a gift of select tubers. The
431 old, larger harvest festival (inasi), the offering of first fruits
241 to the gods, (406)
796
178

406. See E. Gifford, Tongan Society / cited in English/ pp. 76, 345.

/156 cont./

412
241
177 was replaced chiefly by two tools that have iron blades: The huo spade consists of an oval iron blade, approximately 14 centimeters long, 12 centimeters wide and provided with a socket approximately 17 centimeters long which is stuck onto a strong wooden handle about 1.50 meters long. The natives buy the blade from a shopkeeper and [432] [824] make the handle themselves out of toa wood (Casuarina equisetifolia L.); in a way, this tool represents the old digging stick, but is more efficient. (416)

416. Th. West already mentions it in 1865. (Th. West, Ten years...p. 146); a smaller huo spade with an iron handle is seen more seldom.

The huo lafa-lafa is a slightly angular thrusting iron (length approximately 13 centimeters, width approximately 18 centimeters, socket approximately 13 centimeters long) with its socket set on a wooden handle (approximately 1.70 meters long); the natives buy the tool ready-made from a shopkeeper and of course replace the handle themselves if it breaks. The huo lafa-lafa is used chiefly for slashing weeds on the plantations, sometimes also for digging in loose ground. The large machete (417)

417. See p. 203.

is also extensively used on the plantations, to cut down tough weeds, to harvest various crops, etc. /157/ /Illustrations appear here/ /158/ Sometimes a regular European pitchfork is used to loosen the ground (for example, in planting the stalk-cuttings of the sweet potatoe); one seldom sees European spades or shovels. The ancient 241 412 178 184 Tongan digging stick has survived, in a sense, on the smaller islands where, on the plantations, the natives cut a piece of wood about two meters long, whittle it at the end by one-sided blows with the machete and then use it as a huo langa to break up (loosen) the soil in planting kape (less often taro or yams).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 236]

/163 cont./

245 a long time. It grows wild in the bush (plantations) and, like the [221] breadfruit tree, is also planted. Principal harvest time is November- [262] December. The fruits are much liked by the Tongans.

koane = Maize (Zea mays L.)

[137] This plant, introduced in Tonga by Europeans, seems the most suitable species of grain for this climate, but has attained little importance on the islands.

249 to = Sugarcane (Saccharum officinarum L.)

is an ancient Tongan cultivated plant (433)

433. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 284; W. Ellis, An authentic narrative... I. p. 89.

and thrives on the islands. Since the Tongans, however, do not engage in sugar production and no industry of this type was established in the Archipelago by Europeans, the planting of sugarcane has remained very limited.

244 hina = Pumpkin (Cucurbita pepo L.)

[137] was introduced by Europeans in Tonga. It is planted and also occurs [262] in the wild state, but is not much liked by the natives.

meleni = Watermelon (Citrullus vulgaris)

[137] likewise came to the Archipelago through European influence. It is usually planted, but is also sometimes found growing wild. The Tongans [262] like to eat watermelon, but they have not yet cultivated this plant extensively. /165/ On many islands the melons are also destroyed by harmful insects.

faina = Pineapple (Ananas comosus)

[137] This cultivated plant, also introduced by Europeans, has become quite popular, yet it is by no means commonly planted. On the main [432] islands the natives like to plant pineapple to sell. As a result of the negligence of the natives and the unfavorable location of the plantings (in part far from the villages), the pineapple is often

/169 cont./

231 184 According to these figures, pigs and chickens, the domestic animals of ancient Tonga, occur most frequently in 'Uiha and Fungamisi. The difference with respect to the rest of the domestic animals is more striking in 'Uiha than in Fungamisi. In the latter village, its 231 184 nearness to the seaport of Neiafu is a factor; the natives probably 432 feel it is more profitable to use their coconuts for copra production (245) (the copra receiving station of the government is not far from the village) than to breed pigs more extensively, especially since the latter can be replaced by corned beef and salted meat which is easily obtainable in Neiafu. The cattle raised in Fungamisi can be profitably sold to merchants in Neiafu.

231 In general, there is no intensive animal husbandry in Tonga, such as the European is accustomed to. Stalls and fenced-in areas are (272) (262) (239) practically unknown. /170/ Milk, eggs and manure are not used. The following survey may give an idea of animal husbandry in Tonga:

Pig:

231 136 This domestic animal of ancient Tonga no longer exists in its original form. Sailors, missionaries, other whites living in Tonga, as well as members of the Tongan government have, in the course of time, brought a number of pigs of various strains to Tonga. This seems to have improved the old Tongan breed of pig which was probably smaller. A clear racial identification is no longer possible because of the various crossbreeds.

231 262 574 Pork is by no means a daily food; the natives usually slaughter the animals only for festivals and other special occasions (for example, a visit of a member of the royal family), just as was customary among commoners in the past. (450)

(113) 450. See W. Waldegrave, Extracts from a private journal.../cited in English/ p. 187.

/189 cont./

262 184 This list shows that 228 out of 353 'Uiha meals consisted exclusively of products that were available even in ancient Tonga, while 69 of the 173 Fungamisi meals were prepared on a purely "ancient Tongan basis." The influence of the seaport of Neiafu on the village of Fungamisi is recognizable; the example of the European and half-caste households there, as well as abundant supplies in the shops of that town clearly influence the standard of living of the neighboring settlement. The proportion of salted meat, corned beef, white bread, butter, tea, etc., is noticeable. The "European ingredients" (483)

262 184 197 (244) (432)

483. "European ingredients" include all foods that were not available in ancient Tonga, but reached the Archipelago only as a result of European influences and are procured today by planting (for example, manioc, see pp. 231-232, 240-241) or by purchase from shopkeepers (for example, corned beef, roast beef, salted meat, sugar, flour, white bread, zwieback, tea, cocoa, coffee).

of 'Uiha and Fungamisi meals are usually no more than "supplementary." /190/ Manioc, however, appears as a basic food, and in Fungamisi there are a few families who have already gone over to regular bread meals. The very large proportion of breadfruit is due to the fact that the months of April/May are the main harvest time for it.

262 (221)

262 264 Basically, the meals for Sundays, holidays and feasts are the same as everyday meals; they differ only in quantity and in richer ingredients (and sometimes more complicated preparation). As examples we list 12 Sunday meals in the village of 'Uiha (April 1952) and four gala meals (faka afe) (484)

(527) (574)

484. See p. 142-143.

on Nomuka (December 1951):

/199 cont./

276 887 178 tobacco that has for some times been cultivated on many of the native plantations in Tonga, and from this, together with dried pieces of banana leaves (hulu ifi tapaka), they smoke the "suluka," the size of which is between a cigarette and a cigar.

They prefer to cut banana leaves (usually of the hopa variety) early in the morning when they are fresh with dew; if the leaves are too dry that are moistened for a moment with fresh water. After the leaves have been pressed (for example, under a bed) and dried, they are cut in rectangular pieces. On each of these is placed a small quantity of tobacco, dried and cut fine, and the whole is rolled into a conical shape. The leaf is held in this position while the tip of the "suluka" is folded over and then bitten off just before it is smoked.

The natives usually take only a few puffs of the "suluka"; it often goes out, whereupon they stick it behind one ear and, after some time, often hours later, they relight it and continue smoking. The tobacco is strong. Old Tongans who are used to this weed, generally refuse the tobacco and cigarettes of whites.

276 (372) The natives usually light their cigarettes as well as the "suluka" with glowing coconut husks with which they traditionally keep the fire going and which they like to take along when they go to their plantations.

(177) Very few Tongans smoke European pipes.

Tobacco chewing is not very widespread; apparently only the indigenous tobacco is chewed.

261 177 /200/ Some boys, girls, men and women today are fond of chewing gum, which probably became known in the Archipelago through the American troops stationed on Tongatapu during the last war.

262 432 Many natives of both sexes and various ages are fond of sucking

/200 cont./

262 sour and sweet hard candies, which, like chewing gum, may be obtained
432 from shopkeepers on most of the islands.

272 Tea, coffee and cocoa, though they may be bought today on many
432 islands of the Archipelago, have not attained great importance for the Tongans. (522)

522. See chapter on "Food," p. 275 ff.

273 The natives cannot easily obtain alcoholic beverages (kava
[439] papalangi). Limited amounts are probably imported, but only a few
[656] Tongans have the required permit from the minister of police that entitles them to one bottle of spirits per month. On the black market the natives obtain only very small quantities of alcohol.
[177] Various Tongans have become experienced in making alcoholic beverages (using, for example, sugar [or artificial honey], yeast and pineapple), especially through their contact with foreign troops on Tongatapu
[687] during the second World War. But this illegal production that can be punished by imprisonment has heretofore been proportionately small, chiefly around Christmas time, and of late it has become insignificant.

276 Thus, European influences in the area of luxuries have brought
177 about a certain change, chiefly through the importation of tobacco. But, although most Tongans enjoy smoking, they have not become so addicted to tobacco that they are actually dependent on it; (523)

523. For example, on the small islands, shopkeepers often run out of tobacco, and the Tongans who then lack smoking supplies usually bear the time they must wait for a new shipment with equanimity.

this is, of course, also not the case with the other new and less important luxuries.

245 C. Copra Production
177

Copra production (524)

/201 cont./

245 412 [432] [824] [325] The copra knife (hele hihi niu) is about 35 centimeters long; the wooden handle and the steel (iron) blade are each one-half the total length. The natives usually buy the knife in the shops of the chief towns and then replace the handle with a self-made one (of feta'u wood= Calophyllum inophyllum) that has a longer, slanting end so that the hele hibi niu can lie more comfortably in the hand; sometimes they also make the entire knife themselves by heating an old blade or corresponding piece of metal in the fire, shaping it with hammer blows on a hard stone, then working it with a file and finally giving it a wooden handle which they attach with nails.

245 Afterwards, they dry the meat in special drying huts (fale fakamomoa niu) for approximately 24 - 36 hours.

245 258 The drying huts "German New Guinea type" /cited in English/ were not introduced in Tonga until after the second World War. The natives themselves build them. On top of an iron cask lying on the ground and open at both ends (or on two /202/ casks joined to form a longer tube) they place a wooden grate (with an interspace of about one-half meter). The whole is encased in longitudinal walls and a roof of plaited coconut leaves. In the cask (or casks), which sometimes also has a side vent, a fire is built, fed with coconut husks and shells, which produces great heat and little smoke and dries the meat spread out on the grate.

245 258 432 Thereafter, the natives cut the coconut meat into still smaller pieces, spread these out once more in the sun for a day; finally, they fill bags with them and store them in the storage hut or the dwelling until there is an opportunity to drive or sail to the nearest receiving station of the Tonga Copra Board /cited in English/; if they near such a station they simply fill their traditional coconut-leaf baskets with copra and take them immediately to be sold.

/242 cont./

436 (not so much English, New Zealand and Fiji) silver and copper coins in circulation. The bank notes in circulation on December 31, 1951 amounted to 175,683£T. (645)

645. Colonial Office, Report on Tonga for the Years 1950 and 1951 /cited in English/. p. 11.

Tongan money--though made of paper--is regarded as a positive measure of value, not only by whites, but especially by natives, even on the smallest islands of the Archipelago. The government pays with it, its civil servants and employees; the Copra Board buys copra made by the natives with this money; the Tongans pay their taxes with it, do all their shopping at storekeepers with it, and even like to use money in the villages on the small islands to buy a house, for example, or a boat. The present economic life of the Kingdom of Tonga (including all imports and exports) would be unthinkable without the presence of money. It still seems necessary, however, for a [563] white man to fill the post of minister of finance and supervise the [645] regulation and security of Tongan currency. Owing to this European 652 influence, and especially to the favorable economic conditions of 436 the Kingdom of Tonga, the currency as well as the entire national [179] budget are quite sound; the country is without debts and in 1950 [464] 424,808£T. were even invested abroad. (646)

646. Report of the Honourable the Minister for Finance for the Year 1950 /cited in English/. Nuku'alofa 1951. p. 2.

434 The average Tongan earns his cash chiefly from copra production; the annual income from this aimed at by most families /243/ is today probably somewhere between 30 and 300£T. (647)

647. See p. 302-304.

[439] In addition, in the chief towns, there are limited opportunities for [432] earning money through banana export and the sale of watermelons and pineapples.

/243 cont./

000 pineapples.

436 178 The natives have become well accustomed to the significance and use of money, since they take for granted shopping even in places where Tongans own the trading stations. Here no one tries /to invoke/ [425] the old system of "asking something without direct return service"; [437] the established prices of the shopkeepers are paid without demur, nor [435] is there any bargaining or dickering.

434 432 436 The Tongans use the money they have earned mainly to buy fabric for clothing and readymade clothing, oil to burn, soap, matches, tobacco, canned mean and fish, flour, sugar, housewares and tools, to pay land rent and taxes and to contribute to churches. Usually the native spends his money rapidly. For example, if he has received 20 £T. for delivering copra, he often immediately buys 10 to 15 £T. worth of the aforementioned items and sometimes also things for which he has no particular use. After a while, he has made more copra and the process is repeated. Many Tongans regularly spend all their money, knowing that they will presently produce more copra and 436 earn money anew. How could they have the European concept of money [177] when there is no dependence on it here and all the customary and usually necessary European calculation is completely unknown to most Tongans. They can also live on /the products of/ their plantations 425 426 and the sea, and if they can no longer put off payments due on their 436 pole tax and land rent or the purchase of a new article of clothing, 178 they may ask for the required sum, according to their old custom, from a relative or a neighbor and--especially on the small islands-- there is scarcely anyone who will, without special reason, break with the old system of "anticipated reciprocity" and leave such a 426 wish unfulfilled. Often they do indeed regard such money as borrowed 436 and return it after a time; but if the debtor completely forgets to 178

/243 cont./

426 436 178 give it back, the creditor will not be much concerned and will regard the matter as settled, in accordance with the old Tongan custom.

436 434 [431] There is no doubt that the natives have learned to value money and like it, but even the present high copra prices have not led to a "copra intoxication" and /244/ a "money fever." They often give away whole loads of coconuts, and in the Copra Board in Neiafu, for example, it was observed in 1952 that the Tongans who could not be paid the full copra price as a result of a temporary shortage of pence coins, did not come back even after several weeks to pick up their three-or ten-pence.

454 436 For most of the natives the idea of saving, in the sense of a continuous accumulation of sums of money, is unfamiliar. About four decades ago many families were said to have saved relatively large sums in order to build. At that time several of the European-type frame houses were erected. Today large objects such as [428] dwellings, cement tanks and carts have often been inherited, and money [432] is spent on clothing and food and other European goods. Given the [439] normal demand, the to some extent, artificially produced demand by 434 436 the shopkeeper's promotion, and the relatively high prices, money is soon spent in a large family.

436 454 492 Though the majority of Tongans do not use money purposefully (in the European sense), there is nevertheless no dearth of examples of deliberate management of money after the manner of whites. Thus, for example, F.S., a Tongan shopkeeper on Nomuka, through carefully considered management, within nine months (1951/52), increased his capital from 61 £T. to about 800 £T. and the two aforementioned truck drivers as well as the lemonade seller on Lifuka (648)

648. See pp. 361-364.

[181] may also serve as example of a wise use of money. These natives,

/245 cont./

436 within the community. Yet up to the present time the old feeling of
197 solidarity of the Tongans proved to be stronger, especially on the
178 small islands where those who, for instance, give plantation
182 products to their neighbors only for money are regarded as alien elements in the village community. In and around the chief towns, however, selling of food is already taken for granted, but at the same time community feeling has not been destroyed in these settlements; for example, every Tongan can enter here a house uninvited and take part in a meal.

(432) (574)

Thus money has become an important economic factor in Tonga. The natives have become accustomed to it to a certain extent. In the harbor towns of the Archipelago, especially, money has brought about certain changes and has had, in part, a negative, though as yet a limited influence on the old community life. An average Tongan, however, does not have the attitude toward money characteristic of a European. The reasons for this lies not only in the more even-tempered, casual manner of these natives and in the fact that thinking in terms of money and self-interest are contrary to the Tongan tradition, but especially in the fact that today, as in old times, they can still live without money. Although every Tongan man and woman, even on the smallest islands of the Archipelago, comes into contact with money, some of these natives do not have a penny, for they live chiefly on their land and can ask relatives or neighbors for whatever they need from the outside world.

(181)

/246/

4. THEIR RELIGION

771 As for the religion of the Tongans, the strongest European
197 influences (missions) are to be noted, which have led to a fundamental
799 change in this field.

772 The ancient Polynesian (and the ancient Tongan) conception of the

/296 cont./
canned goods have even been introduced into their ceremonial life. Food preparation shows many traditional features--as among the Tongans and perhaps even more so--along with certain innovations (for example iron cooking pots), and the typical method of eating with one's fingers has also been retained.--The conservative Samoans have probably not felt the need for further changes in their tried-and-true methods in areas relating to their means of subsistence, which, moreover, have not been influenced very much by Europeans and indeed would be difficult to change if only because of geographic conditions.

In both Archipelagos tobacco, a luxury imported by Europeans, has become quite important; the natives grow it themselves to a large extent and also buy it from shopkeepers.

/297/ As in Tonga, copra production in Samoa has become a very common occupation, and to this has been added cocoa-growing. However, here too these new activities have not brought about much change; there has been no profit- mania, and the old social system has proved strong enough to withstand these influences, for the matai take over the proceeds and use them on behalf of the entire family.

The typical women's handwork of tapa-making and plaiting lives on in Samoa--at least with respect to quality--as it does in Tonga. Division of labor according to sex has also scarcely changed on the Samoa Islands; however, in contrast to the development in the Tonga Archipelago, the social division of labor (titles-untitles) has still been largely upheld. The daily routine has remained basically the same in both island groups, and has been influenced only to a certain extent by new duties and tasks. Land and sea traffic has changed very much in Samoa, as in Tonga, but it is noteworthy that the Samoans build and use the simple outriggers (paopao) and in addition rather large numbers of the more complicated bonito-boats (va'aalo).

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

161 TABLE 4.--Projected Population Size of Tonga.

Year	Growth Rate, Percent Per Year				
	1.5	2	2.5	3	3.5
1980	104,000	107,500	112,000	117,500	121,000
1990	120,500	131,500	143,500	156,500	170,500
2000	141,500	161,500	183,000	210,000	240,000
2010	162,500	198,000	234,000	281,000	338,000

for the forthcoming 30-year period (1980 to 2010). A growth of 2.5 percent, though not currently met, probably provides the most realistic estimate, though possibly conservative, for long range projections.

Regardless of the estimated growth rate used, one overriding feature becomes apparent when considering Tonga's population history and its projected future. It took approximately 100 years to double the 1840 population figure of 18,500. The 1940 population figure, approximately 35,000, required less than 25 years to double, resulting in 70,000 individuals. Projected growth rates (Table 4) indicate that the population will double again between 1966 and 1990, a period of 24 years.

162 The population composition of modern Tonga is homogenous.
563 As indicated within Table 5, 98 percent of the population is Tongan, while less than 2 percent is composed of other racial elements.
563 Throughout history, Tongan law has consistently forbade the sale of
[423] land to non-Tongans. Therefore, this non-native element is primarily
[432]